1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 835 Ifalik

"The word tabw is used for the incest ban, or prohibition on marriage within the clan or between some other close relatives. This taboo is said to have been ordained by the goddess Autran, though it was not said that she took an active part in punishing violations of it. Since the sanction of death or banishement, inflicted by unquestioned human agency, was said to be the punishment for violation of this rule, it seems to belong to a middle ground between taboos in the strictest sense, with supernatural sanctions, and rules of government, deliberately enforced by men."

28: Spiro--26 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 582, 835 Ifalik

"When a native is asked for the purpose of the clan, his answer is, to control marriage. One may not marry a member of one's own clan. This taboo on clan endogamous marriage is very stringent, and the complete geneologies reveal no case of its violation. However, a very interesting problem arises in this connection that unfortunately, I did not investigate. Theoretically, the clan controls not only marriage, but all sexual relationships, it being taboo for a person to have sexual relations within his own clan. Yet, my conversations with the young men, of whom at least two were sexually active, revealed that, with the exception of one person, they were ignorant of their clan affiliations. That is, they were all very aware of the existence of the clans, and they also knew of the exogamous rule, but they did not know to which clan they belonged. Neither their parents nor any one else had informed them of their clan memberships, and the one person who did possess this information, discovered it by sheer accident. When the question was posed to them, they were all eager to know their clan affiliations, and asked me to tell them, but none had spontaneously asked their parents for this information, saying that their parents would tell them when they were about to be married, and if they will have chosen a woman within their clan, they would have to forfeit their claim to her. This implies, of course, that these young men take sweethearts from within their clan with impunity. Thus, it would seem to appear that clan exogamy is concerned wholly with the cultural phenomenon of marriage, rather than with the biological fact of intercourse."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--132 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 582, 835, 198 Ifalik

"In choosing a spouse, of course, one must not violate the incest taboos, (was) which includes marriage within the patrilineal lineage, as well as the matrilineal clan. The tabooed individuals are parents and siblings, real and classificatory, as well as clan members. His classificatory sisters would include his mother's brothers' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and his father's brother's daughters, as well as his mother's sisters' daughters. Incest, my informants insist, does not occur. They remembered one case of incest in the past, and the man was seized by the people, and thrown into the ocean to drown. The reasons for incest being 'very, very bad' are unknown. Should a man commit incest, 'all people and chief say,' very bad man"', because 'all people afraid of it.'

The incest taboo extends to behavior that might be interpreted symbolically as incest. I had the habit of whistling a tune as I walked through the village, and at times noticed an implicit disapproval on the part of some people. One day I asked if the people did not whistle, and it was explained that whistling was taboo in the presence of women, because a man calls his lover at night by whistling for her. Thus whistling has a sexual conotation, and should a man whistle publically his sister might hear it, and might interpret it as a sexual advance. Furthermore, since the whistle has this sexual connotation, and since all sexual references are prohibited, whistling is tabooed in the presence of any women."